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**Leisure activity**

When, in 1963, the first broad survey was made of the leisure time budget and the ways in which leisure time is spent, this was not really the first time sociologists in Flanders had tackled this subject. Their various surveys had however been limited to small geographical units or to particular categories of the population. The 1963 survey was thus the first to cover the whole of Dutch-speaking Belgium, and to analyse how leisure time is spent. The survey was held at the request of the Minister for Dutch Culture. A second large survey was made in January-February 1965, but this investigation was solely concerned with the way leisure time is spent at week-ends during the winter. Both surveys were conducted by research workers from the 'Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek' of Leuven University, under Professor F. van Mechelen.

The population considered for both surveys was made up of all Dutch-speaking Belgians, aged 21 to 65, who do not live either in the Walloon part of the country or in the Brussels metropolitan area (1).

In the 1965 survey, the scope was even more restricted, affecting only heads of families who met the above-mentioned requirements. In these two universes which differ to a certain extent from each other, representative samples were made. In the earlier survey, 2.000 people were selected by using random numbers, and 1.818 reliable interviews conducted, on the basis of a structuralized questionnaire.

In the more recent survey, the same method was followed, but only 1.000 people were tested and 969 of these tests were used for the computation of the results. The sample had been devised according to identical principles in the two surveys.

The number of local communities covered by the survey had been restricted in 1963 tot 125, and they had been selected in proportion to the number of municipalities belonging to five geographical types per province. In 1965, the survey was restricted to 100 communities. The other criteria remained substantially the same with one small difference : in 1963 five geographical types of communities were considered : the large town, the small town, the semi-industrial, the less rural and the rural type, while in 1965 four were chosen : the large town, the town, the urbanized countryside and the countryside. The urbanized countryside more or less corresponds to the semi-industrial and the less rural type.

The aim of these surveys was not to give a sociological explanation of the various ways of spending leisure time. The surveys only sought to find out how various social categories behaved during their spare time.

The main object of the surveys was descriptive.

Which social categories were examined ? The

investigators turned their attention primarily to the various social categories, broken down according to sex, geographical environment, age, profession and educational level.

The actual object of the survey can be summed up in the following three questions :

1. How does the adult, still active Fleming spend his time ?
2. How does he spend his spare time ?
3. How would he really like to spend his spare time ?

Although these questions provide only a limited approach to the problem of leisure time, it is obvious that even this limited list of questions can hardly be answered fully. The present paper will therefore confine itself to the main facets of the object of this survey.

#### **A. Distribution of available time**

To obtain a picture of the importance of available leisure time, it would not do to limit observation to leisure time only, as this should be weighed against other ways of spending time. One week was chosen as an observation unit, and split up into four ways of spending time, according to the hours devoted to them per day and per week, to wit : working time, sleeping time, leisure (2) and partially leisure (3). Of the 168 hours which constitute man's weekly life, an average of 49 are devoted in Flanders to working and 64 to sleeping. There is an average of 35 hours of spare time a week, while 25 hours can be regarded as partially spare time.

Working time in Belgium is largely determined by law. Most wage-earners work under the five-day week system. It is therefore normal that 72 % of active men work less than 50 hours a week, if the eight-hour day is taken into account which is the usual working day for many people. The fact that 20 % of all active men still work more than 60 hours a week can possibly be ascribed to the very long working hours of farmers and the self-employed middle classes. 76 % of farmers and 56 % of the self-employed work more than 60 hours a week, while 91 % of all workers, 87 % of wage-earning middle classes and 70 % of the leading professional people work less than 50 hours a week (4).

There is little difference as regards working hours between people who have had an elementary education and those who have had a secondary education. They follow the general working time pattern. Those who have had higher education behave in a totally different way from those with a lower education level. Age and geographical environment have no significant influence on working time. Where overtime is concerned, the tendency is however disrupted : the younger generation (21 to 45 old) work considerably more overtime hours than the older generation (46 to 65). The highly educated workers

and people in leading positions show a difference in this respect as well. An average of 29 % of all active men work overtime.

For many wage-earners and self-employed people Saturdays and Sundays are not entirely leisure periods. In 1965 it was found that only 46 % of family heads never worked on a Saturday and 77 % never worked on a Sunday. It is obvious that this phenomenon is often related to the nature of the work. Service and farming require continuous work, even on Saturdays and Sundays. In Belgium, this is strongly linked to the legal status which governs the way the work is performed. Of the men who work as wage-earners, 55 % never work on Saturdays, while for the self-employed people, the percentage is only 12 %.

On Sundays, the situation is more favourable for both categories : 83 % of men earning wages and 53 % of self-employed people never work on Sundays. The differences between these categories are even bigger when the amount of working time is considered. Of those earning wages, only 11 % usually work a full Saturday, and only 3 % a full Sunday. For the self-employed people the respective percentages are 65 and 7 %.

The majority of women are still employed on domestic tasks. Contrary to what is often believed, most women have a shorter working day than men. More than half of the women devote less than 8 hours a day on weekdays to their housework. 43 % work more than 8 hours a day. The differences between weekdays and Saturdays are small. On Sundays, things are however entirely different. More than 79 % of women devote less than 6 hours to their housework on Sundays, which can therefore be regarded as a day of rest. The housewife's activity shows little variation according to age, but great variations according to education. Women with a higher level of education perform a lower average of household tasks than women with a lower education level. These facts can be supplemented by the data of the 1965 survey which show that women working at outside jobs still devote less time to household tasks on Saturdays than other women.

There are only slight differences in the time devoted to sleeping. Neither age, sex, geographical environment nor education level have a determinant influence on sleeping time. Only housewives and those unfit for work sleep slightly more than the other social and professional categories.

Partially leisure is also an almost constant quantity. Over 96 % of people have less than 6 hours daily, on Sundays as well as on weekdays. Contrary to sleeping and partially leisure, actual leisure time is linked with a number of social factors. The male has



32 hours of real leisure time a week, while the female has only 28.30 hours. On Saturdays and Sundays, men have 15 hours leisure, and women only 11.25. On an ordinary working day, the average is of about 3.25 hours spare time. This varies very little according to geographical environment, but does vary according to age, socio-professional categories and education. On Sundays leisure is the same for old and young alike, but it is considerably shorter for the younger generation on ordinary work days and on Saturdays. On weekdays, except for those unfit for work, most people in each socio-professional category have less than 4 hours leisure a day, to wit : 81 % among farmers, 75 % among self-employed middle classes, 74 % among workers, 71 % among the wage-earning middle classes, 60 % among housewives and 35 % among those in leading positions, while the average is 69 %.

On Sundays, these tendencies are exactly reversed, except for farmers, self-employed middle classes and housewives, owing to the nature of their work.

55 % of those in leading positions, 49 % of workers and 42 % of wage-earning middle classes have more than 10 hours of leisure on Sundays, while this is only true for 32 % of the entire population.

The assumption that the lower layers have more leisure than the upper ones is not verified here. A similar conclusion can be reached from differences in leisure hours according to education. During the week, there are no differences worth mentioning. On Sundays, leisure increases according to the level of education. The question can now be put whether traces of this greater amount of leisure can be found in spare time activities.

## **B. Spare time activity**

### **1. Entertainment**

Under this heading we group a number of ways of spending leisure which can only be pursued outside of the home, such as the cinema, the theatre, opera, concerts, variety shows and the circus.

Although the number of cinema-goers decreases every year (5), approximately 46 % of all adult and still-active Flemings frequented cinemas in 1963. In the 1965 survey the percentage was only 17 %, but the answers were only provided by heads of families who had to account for movie-going at week-ends.

Differences according to geographical environment are significant here, as cinemas are unevenly distributed in the various environments. The attendance varies from 31 % in rural areas to 70 % in large cities. The frequency of attendance by heads of families also decreases according to the distance between their homes and the theatre. Interest in films is also greater among younger people, to wit 54 % for the younger generation and only 35 %

for the older one. The same tendency was noted in 1965. As regards cinema attendance, there is a great difference between the wage-earning middle classes (69 %), those in responsible positions (59 %) and the workers (49 %) as against farmers (20 %), the self-employed middle classes (42 %) and housewives (44 %). The same phenomenon can be observed where the level of education is considered : 74 % of those who have had higher education, 59 % of those with a secondary education and 35 % of those with an elementary education. As far as heads of families are concerned, the existence of small children has a moderating influence. Many cinema-goers (40 %) do not, in fact, select their film. They go to the cinema without advance knowledge of the film they are going to see.

Theatres attract only half as many people as cinemas (23 %), and attendance is also less frequent. The chances of attending a stage performance are also lower. In rural areas, interest is considerably higher than in large cities, but on the other hand, quality is much lower in the country. There is practically no chance of attending a professional performance. There is very little difference according to age-groups, but the frequency of visits is somewhat higher among younger people than among the older ones. The attendance of stage performances by people in responsible positions (43 %) and in the wage-earning middle classes (38 %) is considerably higher than among workers (16 %) and those unfit for work (8 %). This tendency persists when frequency of attendance is considered. The education level also has a significant effect : 15 % of those with an elementary education, 32 of those with a secondary education and up to 50 % of the people who have had higher education attended at least one performance in the past year. When the frequency of attendance at theatrical performances is considered, there seems to be the same link with the educational level. The same phenomena are noted in the survey among heads of families (1965). This survey also shows that, contrary to expectation, the existence of children does not influence theatrical attendance.

All these figures show little relevance to the relationship between the theatre and the cinema among the population when both are equally accessible. The survey has however shown that motion pictures (52 %) are more attractive than plays (36 %) when the people are free to choose either a 'good' play or a 'good' picture. This is not true everywhere. In rural areas, preference goes to the theatre (47 % against 40 %). In addition, it is also found that the preference shown for the stage decreases in the same ratio as the community becomes more of a

town (from 47 % to 24 %) and also that preference for motion pictures increases (from 40 % to 66 %).

A more active way of spending leisure time is play-acting itself. Almost 3 % of those questioned belong to some kind of company.

Another form of entertainment that arouses even less interest than the theatre is the opera (11 % of the people questioned). This is certainly connected with the practical difficulty of attending an opera performance, as opera houses in this country are only to be found in the larger towns. Only 2 % of the inhabitants of rural areas attend opera performances compared with 20 % of the inhabitants of large cities. That interest in the opera is also linked to other elements appears clearly from the following figures. While 29 % of the people in leading positions and 23 % of the wage-earning middle classes occasionally attend an opera performance, the percentage is much lower for the other social groups (for instance 6 % only of the workers and 2 % of the farmers have ever attended an opera performance). The percentage is 43 for highly educated people, 16 % for those with secondary education and only 5 % for those who have had elementary education.

Music finds its way to the people through various channels, such as radio, brass and other wind instrument bands, orchestras. More than 32 % of those questioned have at some time attended a concert by a band, while only 15 % sometimes listen to a professional orchestra. This does not happen very frequently. Only 20 % had attended a band performance during the last year, while only 8 % had attended a concert by a professional orchestra. It is obvious that the latter is more frequently the case in town than in the country. Brass bands are more attractive to the countryman than to the townsman. Age is not an important factor, while professional activity and the level of education affect attendance at concerts given by professional orchestras, but have no effect where brass bands are concerned. Only a few people play an instrument. 15 % of the men and 5 % of the women considered devote part of their spare time to this. Almost all instrument-playing women play the piano. Among men, there is a greater variety. 31 % of instrument-playing men perform in musical groups.

Variety shows (32 %) and the circus (35 %) have a greater attraction for the population than the theatre, particularly for the younger section of it (respectively 40 and 38 %). Interest among the various professional categories is also different from what has been described so far. Wage-earning middle classes (43 %) and workers (37 %) are considerably more attracted by variety shows. The same is true for circus attendance : 42 % for workers and 39 % for



wage-earning middle classes. Education bears a positive relation to the attendance of variety shows but a negative one to the attendance of circus performances. 26 % of the highly educated people and 35 % of those with a low degree of education occasionally go to the circus.

## **2. Television**

Television offers all the forms of entertainment we have just mentioned, but also covers much more ground. The importance of television in Flanders was already apparent in 1964, when a census showed that there were 151 TV sets per 1.000 inhabitants in Flanders, whereas the figure for the whole country was only 129. Neither can the frequency of television-watching be called slight : almost half of the entire Flemish population watches TV programmes every day, and only 13 % never watch. The assessment of programmes is rather positive. Only 1/3 of the population thinks the programmes are mediocre or bad. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that only 10 % have no opinion when they are asked to indicate five programmes they think definitely good, and 46 % have no opinion when asked to indicate five programmes they definitely consider bad.

The frequency of watching varies very little according to sex or geographical environment. There is some variation according to age : the younger generation (90 %) watches more intensely than the older one (84 %). Among the latter, there are more assiduous watchers : more than 52 % of the older people watch daily, while only 44 % of the younger ones do. As compared to the 87 % average of TV-watchers among those questioned, there is a positive deviation for those in leading positions, wage-earning middle classes and workers. Farmers show less interest : 71 % watch TV but a large number of them watch very seldom (46 % as against an average of 28 %). The most assiduous watchers are to be found among housewives, and among those unfit for work, respectively 58 and 57 % (47 % is the average of all watchers). The number of watchers increases according to the level of education (83 % of elementary education and 93 % for secondary and higher education) but the frequency of watching decreases : 51 % of those with elementary education, 45 % of those with a secondary education and 28 % of the highly educated people watch TV daily. This tendency is confirmed by the assessment of programmes by the viewers : there are less people with no opinion among those who have been highly educated.

In 1965 similar facts emerged from the survey of heads of families. It is interesting to note that TV programmes are hardly ever a subject of family



conversation for 13 % of the people in leading positions, while this is true for 27 % of the middle class, 33 % of the workers and 42 % of the farmers.

### **3. Radio, record-player and tape-recorder**

Radio has become an object of daily use. It can be said that almost every family has its set, with only a few exceptions. The record-player is not in such general use. Only 30 % own one, and 25 % have a record collection. A tape-recorder is owned by 9 % of those questioned. These figures are confirmed by the survey of heads of families held in 1965.

Record-players and tape-recorders are mainly to be found in urban environments, among highly educated people and those occupying leading positions. It is also found that in Flanders 87 % of the population listen to the radio regularly, with greater assiduity among the younger generation (91 %) than the older one (84 %). Within the social and professional categories, there is a significantly stronger interest among the wage-earning middle class (92 %) and the workers (91 %). Education does not create any significant variations in listening habits.

What stations are listened to ? The B.R.T. (6) is the most popular (81 % of regular listeners). Next come Radio Luxemburg and Veronica (56 %), with a perceptibly higher interest rate among women (62 % of women) than among men (50 % of all men). The regional stations attract 40 % of the listeners, Radio Hilversum 20 %, the R.T.B. (7) 18 % and the B.R.T.'s Third Programme 7 % (8).

The impact of TV on radio listening habits was evident from the 1965 survey. It is significant, for instance, that 74 % of those who have no television set listen to the radio news, while only 48 % of those owning a TV set do. The fact of owning a TV set has had practically no influence on the interest in popular music via the radio.

### **4. Reading**

Probably the most frequent form of reading is newspaper reading. Only 14 % of those questioned state that they never read a newspaper. More than 66 % read a newspaper every day. This is more frequent among men (76 %) than among women (56 %), and is more frequent in the cities than in the country. Weekly papers are more assiduously read in the country than in town. 42 % of those questioned read a weekly, whereas 53 % read a magazine. In this field, interest is greater among women (62 %) than among men (45 %). And in this case as well, there is more interest to be noted in the cities than in the country. Monthly publications are read by 18 % of the population and reviews by 10 %. For the two latter types of reading, sex and geographical

environment provide no differences worth mentioning. Where age is concerned, there is little difference in the frequency of newspaper reading. This is not true where social and professional categories are considered, since among those who occupy leading positions, 82 % read a paper every day and among the wage-earning middle classes 72 %, as against 61 % for farmers and 55 % for those unfit for work. In this respect too, higher education is on a par with frequent newspaper reading.

In the survey of heads of families (1965), similar phenomena were observed. Illustrated papers attract less interest among farmers (44 %), but that same socio-professional category shows most interest in weeklies (77 %). Fewer people occupying leading positions read a weekly (38 %) but more of them an illustrated paper (79 %).

Books in Flanders have a relatively high significance : 44 % of those questioned read books. Among men, the figure is 48 % while for women it is 40 %. On an average each reader reads 14 books a year. 15 % read less than 7 books a year and only 3 % more than 52 books a year. The younger people constitute by far the most numerous group of readers (49 %) as compared with the other (37 %). Those in leading positions (73 %) and the wage-earning middle classes (72 %) have more book readers within their ranks than the other categories, and particularly the farmers (22 %). The fact that the level of education is not irrelevant hardly needs to be stressed. The figures show that 84 % of those with a higher education, 58 % of those with a secondary education and 32 % of those with a lower education read books.

Where do these books come from ? 57 % of the readers have their own library to draw from, 31 % go to public libraries, 26 % get books from friends or acquaintances, and only 4 % go to store libraries.

## **5. Studies**

A more active use of their spare time is required of those who embark upon some kind of studies after their daily task is over. This is why they are not very numerous. Only 11 % of questioned men still study after their daily work, 7 % attend evening school, 6 % go to week-end seminars and 24 % attend lectures. More men study than women. Differences according to environment are not significant. Those according to age however are : a greater interest on the part of the younger generation can be noted. Social and professional categories and level of education show the same significant differences. Those occupying leading positions (47 %) and the wage-earning middle classes (37 %) are more numerous than the others among those who study after their work. This also goes for week-end

seminars and lectures. Where evening school is concerned, the percentage of the wage-earning middle classes (18 %) is appreciably above average. The sharpest differences are found among the various levels of education. The strong positive link : school education - post-school education appears quite clearly.

#### **6. Interest in forms of adult education**

The scope of this paper is limited to a few particular forms of adult education and especially the traditional organizations such as the 'Willemsfonds', the 'Davidsfonds' and the 'Vermeylenfonds'. 42 % of those questioned know nothing about these organizations. Women are more ignorant than men about them, and the older generation more ignorant than the younger. According to environment, there is little difference as to information about these societies. 94 % of those in a leading position and 84 % of the wage-earners know about them, as against 44 % of farmers and those unfit for work. The level of education is strongly determinant of knowledge about these organizations, to wit that the number of people with a correct knowledge increases on par with the level of education enjoyed. More than 16 % of those questioned are able to mention an organization providing adult education. There is little difference according to sex or to geographical environment, but there is a difference according to generations, social and professional categories and education level.

In Flanders, there is an extensive and generous range of societies, yet 1/5 of all men and 2/5 of all women do not belong to any of them. These figures increase when only active membership is considered : 75 % of men and 85 % of women are not active members of any society. Professional associations (53 %), cultural societies (33 %) and religious societies (21 %) are the most successful. Institutions for higher adult education are even less known : only 8 % know of these schools. Of these, only 22 % have attended them. They are mainly known in large cities (22 %). There are only incidental differences, according to sex or age. Of the leading professions (33 %) and of the wage-earning middle classes (30 %) a very much higher proportion know more about higher adult education. The same is true for those who have enjoyed higher education (48 %). 'Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen' (9) was already known by 37 % of Flemings in 1963, only one year after its foundation. 21 % of all men and 16 % of all women can describe quite accurately the aims of this institution. It is better known in larger cities and by the younger generation than by other categories. According to social and professional categories and

education level, the differences show the same trend as observed so far : a larger proportion of people in leading functions (61 %), wage-earning middle classes (66 %), highly educated (80 %) and those with secondary education (47 %).

Museums attract few people. 55 % of all women and 45 % of all men have never visited a museum.

Galleries are mainly successful in the urban environment. Museum visits are strongly stimulated by schools and conducted tours : 20 % of visitors are only visiting a museum thanks to them. Only 26 % of those who have ever visited a museum did so during the past year. 55 % know of some museum.

Age, social-professional position and education level have a clearly discernible influence. Among the older generation and those with only low-grade education, the knowledge of a museum is strongly linked with a visit to one particular museum.

For exhibitions (53 %), trade fairs (41 %) and yearly market days (38 %) the interest is fairly high. The two former are more attractive to city-dwellers, while the latter are mainly successful in the countryside. There is no difference according to age groups in the attendance of exhibitions, but there is one, where socio-professional categories and degree of education are concerned. For the latter two, the picture is the same as for the galleries.

## **7. Sports events**

Sport as a way of spending leisure time is chiefly connected with the 'passive watching' of football matches and bicycle races. 44 % of the men go and watch local football events, 41 % watch cycling events. They are also the most attractive events to women (respectively 7 and 10 %). Football is a branch of sport that is followed with equal interest in all geographical environments. Basket ball, volley ball, tennis and swimming, on the other hand, are typical of the large cities. Interest in a particular branch of sport is not limited to watching on the spot. It is indeed a fact that 60 % of the population is 'interested' in football, 58 % in cycle racing, 31 % in swimming and 31 % in winter sports. This interest in sport is very much higher among the younger than among the older generation, with the exception of winter sports. For most, this interest is limited to TV watching. This goes for football in 93 % of cases and cycling for approximately 91 %. Only 8 % of those interested in football play themselves during their leisure time.

Farmers and housewives show the least interest in the various branches of sport. People in leading positions show the greatest interest in sport with the exception of cycling, which appeals more to workers. The watching of sports events on TV indicates little



difference according to social and professional categories where football and cycling are concerned, but not swimming. Swimming is also the sport practised by the greatest number : 33 % of those interested in swimming. Interest in football, swimming or winter sports increases with the level of education. For cycling, the opposite trend is noted. Football and swimming are more practised by people with high education level.

#### **8. Visiting relatives, neighbours and friends**

A relatively high percentage of the population never visit their relatives, neighbours and friends. Sex and geographical environment provide no significant differences. It can however be noted that visits are a more spontaneous thing in the rural environment. Visits are also more often paid by younger people than by older ones, respectively 67 and 59 %. Those in leading positions and the wage-earning middle classes show a greater proportion of these relationships (74 and 68 % respectively) than the self-employed middle classes (56 %) and the other socio-professional categories. People with a higher education level (81 %) differ in this way of using their spare time in a significant way from those with a secondary education (67 %) and those with an elementary education (59 %).

In 1965 it was found among heads of families that 53 % of them visit their parents, brothers, sisters or married children during week-ends. In 56 % of the cases these are family events.

#### **9. The family and leisure time spending**

For the family, the help given by the husband can be of great importance to the way the wife and children spend their leisure time. Thus, it can be noted that 54 % of all men help in the home, while at the same time, considerable differences are found between customs in the country and in town. In city environments, the percentage is greater. The help generally takes the form of dish-washing, running errands and looking after the children. For each of these three forms of assistance, the younger generation is more strongly represented. The wage-earning middle classes and the people unfit for working are the most disruptive elements in the traditional distribution of functions while farmers are the most traditional in behaviour. It can also be noted that those with a high education level behave to a lesser extent in accordance with the traditional pattern of distribution of tasks within the family. The family is for many people the ideal setting for particular ways of spending leisure time. In 1965, 75 % of heads of families called the week-ends the ideal period for doing something jointly with their family.

#### **10. Holiday travel.**

43 % of all active Flemings travelled during their holidays in 1963. The percentage is higher among city-dwellers than among those in rural environments. They rarely go far, however. 54 % of the travellers go to the sea-coast, 28 % to the Ardennes, 25 % to the Kempen.

For 67 % the journey is limited to Belgium, and only 48 % go abroad. For the whole of the population, the figures are however slightly lower : 29 % travel within the national frontiers, while 21 % go abroad.

Participation in holiday trips varies significantly according to age, socio-professional categories, and the level of education. The highest figures are found among the younger generation (46 %), people in leading positions (68 %), the wage-earning middle classes (70 %) and the people with higher or secondary education (80 and 57 % respectively).

In 50 % of the cases trips abroad last longer than a week while those within the country last less. In 75 % of the cases, trips in Belgium are taken with the family, which is only the case for 60 % of trips abroad. Another feature is that the traveller in Belgium generally sleeps at home (30 %), while 20 % rent a flat and 19 % stay at a hotel. When abroad, people mostly sleep in hotels (62 %).

When age is concerned, there is little difference as to the length of the trip, but there is a difference when socio-professional and education levels are considered. Those in leading functions, the wage-earning middle classes and those with a high level education again come on top of the list.

#### **C. Preferences in leisure time spending**

While we have so far mainly concentrated on what people actually do in their spare time, we should like to point out briefly what preferences people express as regards the way to spend their spare time.

If one assumes that people try to do what they find most gratifying, some deviations are to be noted. 16 % of all men derive most satisfaction from their professional labour and 79 % from some form of leisure, such as gardening (11 %), which takes first place, followed by training racing pigeons (6 %) and reading (5 %). If the assumption is made that more leisure time becomes available, the image changes : travel would take first place (18 %), followed by gardening and walking (6 % of men) and reading (5 % of men). Professional labour disappears entirely and pigeon racing would only attract 4 % of men. Women derive most pleasure from their home tasks (27 %), sewing and knitting (22 %), reading (6 %) and work outside the home (5 %). They would however like to spend more time on travel (17 %), sewing and knitting (17 %), walking (17 %) and reading (7 %). Travelling seems to be a desirable aim.

This is confirmed by the wish expressed by 47 % of those questioned to be able to go on a journey during the next year.

#### **D. Conclusion**

These few pages give only a very limited range of the survey results. Some survey objects have been left aside and some analyses have not been gone into thoroughly owing to lack of space. The general idea was to provide a picture of the way a number of social categories spend their spare time in Flanders. The greatest variations in the spending of leisure time are found among the different levels of education and the socio-professional categories. Almost constantly, a greater participation in various ways of spending leisure time is found to coincide with prolonged education. Among the social and professional categories the leading professions and the wage-earning middle classes are distinctly privileged. The assumption that the 'leisure class', which formerly consisted of people with a high personal status, is transferred to the higher status categories, is invalidated by this. Farmers almost constantly appeared as the category which participated the least in the forms of leisure time spending studied. A somewhat more favourable position is taken by housewives and the independent middle classes. The age categories show, in many cases, significant variations. The younger generation is more active than the older in the way they spend their spare time. Men also participate more frequently than women in most ways of spending leisure time. As far as the various geographical environments are concerned, a lesser participation in many forms of leisure spending is to be found in rural communities than in urban communities. The infrastructure is undoubtedly partly responsible for this, although it is not the only determining element.

(1) Members of the clergy and people physically or mentally incapacitated for a long period of time were excluded from the sample, as the way they spend their leisure time is obviously very different from the rest of the population.

(2) Leisure is the time that can be spent without regard for personal subsistence.

(3) Partially leisure is the time spent in commuting to and from one's job, to meals, washing and dressing etc., and to various ritual and ceremonial activities.

(4) The 1963 survey considers seven social and professional categories : leading professional people, wage-earning middle classes, independent middle classes, workers, farmers, incapacitated people and housewives.

(5) Cinema audiences fell in Belgium from 79,6 million in 1960 to 52,7 million in 1963 (Reference : **Statistisch Tijdschrift**, nr. 3, March 1965, pp. 542-554).

(6) **Belgische Radio en Televisie** : the Dutch language broadcasting service in Belgium.

(7) **Radiodiffusion - Télévision Belge** : the French-language broadcasting service in Belgium.

(8) This programme is only transmitted on F.M. and is principally meant for educated listeners.

(9) This institution offers its subscribers reproductions of works of art which are analyzed on special days and at special hours by radio and television.

Afterwards, the subscribers (about 40.000 in 1967) receive the texts which they can keep, together with the reproductions, in a special portfolio.



# adult education and leisure

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Brussel**

**Translation : W. Sanders**

**Lay-out : R. Buytaert**

**D/1968/0514/60**